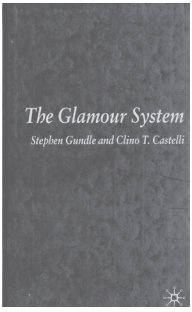
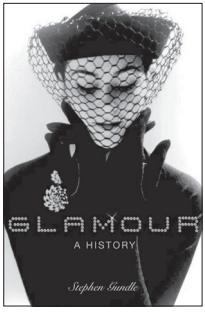
Review Essay

Grasping Glamour

Megan E. Williams





THE GLAMOUR SYSTEM. By Stephen Gundle and Clino T. Castelli. New York: Palgrave MacMillan. 2006.
GLAMOUR: A History. By Stephen Gundle. New York: Oxford University Press. 2008.
GLAMOUR IN SIX DIMENSIONS: Modernism and the Radiance of Form. By Judith Brown. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2009.
GLAMOUR: Women, History, Feminism. By Carol Dyhouse. New York: Zed Books. 2010.

"Never underestimate the power of glamour," wrote journalist and style authority Lucia van der Post in *Lessons in Grace and Elegance*, her 2007 guide to chic living. "Even the plainest woman can be glamorous," she assures her

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readers. "It's quite different from beauty."[1] Although writers seeking to vary their verbiage often use "glamour" interchangeably with "beauty," glamour *is* different from beauty and, as cultural historian Stephen Gundle suggests, is "notoriously difficult to define" (2). Whereas excellent scholarly treatments of beauty culture abound, very little scholarship treating glamour as a cultural phenomenon existed when I started researching the significance of African American singer, actress, and activist Lena Horne—a woman whose name is synonymous with glamour—in 2004. Thankfully, within the past decade, scholars have published a handful of articles and the first, much-needed, book-length studies of glamour.[2] These include Stephen Gundle's *The Glamour System* (2006) and *Glamour: A History* (2008), Judith Brown's *Glamour in Six Dimensions: Modernism and the Radiance of Form* (2009), and Carol Dyhouse's *Glamour: Women, History, Feminism* (2010).

The author of several essays on the subject of glamour, Stephen Gundle offers two volumes, *The Glamour System*, co-authored with professional designer Clino T. Castelli, and *Glamour: A History*, which address the theory and history of this ever-present, yet elusive, phenomenon. In *The Glamour System*, Gundle is concerned with outlining the historical roots of glamour as "a structure of enticement" (16). In the first part of the book, Gundle traces the origins of glamour to early nineteenth-century Europe, when the bourgeoisie supplanted the aristocracy, and traces its production through the first half of the twentieth century. He explores the interconnection between glamour and modern nineteenth-century cities as sites of "social display" that promoted a culture of spectacle and consumerism, theatre and theatricality (22). Analyzing glamour as a gendered system, constructed as feminine, Gundle discusses four types of women—the high society woman, the courtesan, the actress, and the showgirl—produced as "bearers of glamour" by this "culture of display" (44). Following his analysis of glamour's "lengthy formative phase" in Europe, Gundle contends that Hollywood refashioned glamour as a "cinematic phenomenon" during the interwar years (62). In the second half of the book, Gundle defines the glamour system as "a system of visual enchantment" that uses seduction to obscure its role in maintaining "the capitalist system" and bourgeois hegemony (86, 21, 14). He explores this structural phenomenon through eight "scenarios," primarily imagined by Castelli, which emphasize the association between glamour and material culture (16).

In an effort to further challenge notions of glamour as "a timeless phenomenon" with "the consistency and significance of candy-floss," Gundle's second book-length treatment of this topic, *Glamour: A History*, extends his earlier analysis of the changing implications of glamour for British and American women and men to the present (19, 6). He outlines the development of glamour, from its emergence in the literary works of Sir Walter Scott and Lord Byron to the flashy magnificence of European royalty, the spectacle of the modern city, the emergence of the *nouveau riche*, and the courtesans—"the glamour queens"—of nineteenth-century Britain and France (78). As with his discussion

of the phenomenon's evolution in *The Glamour System*, Gundle emphasizes the significance of stage actresses and showgirls as arbiters of early twentieth-century glamour and the importance of interwar Hollywood's expertly fashioned film stars as "the most complete embodiment of glamour" ever constructed (172). In *Glamour*, Gundle broadens his study, moving beyond the Hollywood studio system of the twenties, thirties, and forties, to highlight the role of Parisian couture—especially Christian Dior's "New Look"—in shaping fifties glamour. Likewise, he argues, Hollywood films set in Rome and the Riviera featuring the dream factory's most alluring male and female stars—such as *Roman Holiday* (1953) starring Audrey Hepburn and Gregory Peck, and Alfred Hitchcock's *To Catch a Thief* (1955) starring Grace Kelly and Cary Grant—"merged Old World tradition with New World glamour," offering audiences "irresistible" fantasies of "imagined royalty" (216, 212). He continues his history with an exploration of Andy Warhol's fascination with glamour and its "capacity to turn a commonplace individual into a dream-being" and David Bowie's "glam" rock personas (308). After analyzing the rise of discotheque culture and "the opulence of the Reagan era," Gundle argues that contemporary glamour reached an "unprecedented scale" in the 1990s and 2000s due to the diversification of media and transformation of the consumer economy (337, 352). Gundle offers close readings of Lady Diana Spencer, fashion designers and supermodels, Madonna, "bling," celebutante Paris Hilton, and Spice Girl-turned-glamour icon Victoria Beckham. In the end, he argues that our "insatiable desire" for glamour—and the promise that, through consumption, self-transformation is within everyone's reach—bolsters and perpetuates its power to drive our present capitalist economy (396).

In contrast to Gundle's historical treatment, Judith Brown's *Glamour in Six Dimensions* theorizes glamour in order to reconsider the aesthetics of literary modernism. Although Brown acknowledges the phenomenon's "historical lineage" and etymology as discussed by Gundle, she contends that glamour "coalesces in the modern period as a negative aesthetic that extends to multiple cultural forms" (5). Brown's book, like other recent scholarship exploring modern literature, challenges the belief that work by canonical Anglo-American modernists—including Wallace Stevens, Virginia Woolf, and Gertrude Stein—represent the "highbrow," aesthetically superior to and separate from the burgeoning "lowbrow" consumer culture that marked early twentieth-century society. Scholars of modernism, she suggests, erroneously view literature as divorced from glamour. With *Glamour in Six Dimensions*, Brown seeks to correct this "mistake" by demonstrating the linkage between literary modernism and mass culture; indeed, she argues, glamour, with its "clean (synthetic, cold, abstract)" aesthetic and fascination with death "names [this] interrelation" (1, 8).

Brown's titular dimensions correspond with the book's six chapters—Perception, Violence, Photography, Celebrity, Primitivism, and Cellophane—in which she analyzes the bonds between modern consumer products, photographic images, stage performances, and literary texts. In *Glamour in Six Dimensions*, Brown compares the olfactory perception of Chanel No. 5 with the poetry of

Wallace Stevens, which she argues emphasizes "wintry conditions, the nullified mind, and cool precision" as well as "the power of seeming" (16). Exploring the "the particular violence of glamour," Brown suggests that its fascinating cruelty characterizes the Jazz Age and motivates F. Scott Fitzgerald's novel *The Great Gatsby* and Katherine Mansfield's short story "Je ne parle pas français" (17, 45). In her third chapter, Brown juxtaposes Virginia Woolf's *Mrs. Dalloway* with the grammar of modern photography. Likening the "primitive glamour" of Josephine Baker with the "ambivalent pleasure" of "chosen objectification" found in Wallace Thurman's *Infants of the Spring* and Nella Larsen's *Quicksand*, Brown argues that these Harlem Renaissance artists claimed agency by using the discourse of primitivist glamour to explore "the costs and benefits of self-creation as beautiful object" (132). Ultimately, Brown suggests that Baker, Thurman, and Larsen use the process of self-objectification "to survive the humiliations of being marked as a racial other in a white world that insists its dominance in overt and subtle ways" (130). Finally, Brown pairs cellophane's "powerful blend of art, glamour, and the latest technology" with Florine Stettheimer's set design for *Four Saints in Three Acts*, written by Virgin Thompson and Gertrude Stein (121, 127, 144). Overall, Brown's contention that glamour names the similarities between mass culture and literary modernism is quite compelling, for it proves that modern literature is married to, rather than divorced from, the consumer culture of its era. Despite these strengths, neither Brown nor Gundle give adequate attention to the complex relationship between women, feminism, and glamour.

In *Glamour: Women, History, Feminism*, Carol Dyhouse fills this void, exploring the shifting meanings of glamour and its effects on American and British women over the course of the twentieth century through the lens of feminist theory. Dyhouse, reminiscent of Gundle and Brown, maintains that glamour, in many ways, defies "any precise meaning" (204). Notwithstanding its characteristic ineffability and variability over time, Dyhouse suggests that the notion of glamour as "a form of sophisticated—and often sexual—allure," constituted by artifice and performance, remains consistent throughout the twentieth century (1). In comparison to Gundle and Brown, Dyhouse maintains that "the modern idea of glamour" took root between 1900 and 1929, reached its apex during the classic Hollywood era, and fell out of fashion in the 1960s with the rise of the women's liberation movement, only to re-emerge "in a big way" in the 1980s (12, 165). Guiding us, decade by decade, through the social conditions and material culture of this phenomenon, Dyhouse examines whether glamour offered American and British women a sense of self-definition, empowerment, and pleasure in the face of traditional conventions of femininity. At the same time, she questions whether glamour, as a patriarchal and capitalist construct, has confined, undermined, and sexually objectified women. In the face of feminist arguments that view it as "a form of 'false consciousness,'" Dyhouse argues that glamour "has often been perceived as transgressive"—representing women's "defiance rather than compliance"—throughout the twentieth century (153, 211, 3-4). Women

performed glamour, she ultimately argues, in opposition to "traditional models of femininity rather than conformity with them" (211).

Regardless of their differences in methodological and theoretical approaches to the subject, Brown and Dyhouse concur with Gundle and his colleague Réka Buckley's assessment of glamour—its "inherent slipperiness, its imprecision and vacuity."[3] Still, when read in conjunction, these studies effectively delineate glamour's other fundamental characteristics, including its constitutive connections with modernity and capitalism, theater and Hollywood, material and fashion culture, as well as female empowerment and objectification.

While glamour is most often associated with the visual allure of movie stars, especially actresses, and the rise of the Hollywood studio system during the 1920s and 1930s, these scholars accede to its etymological origins in the nineteenth century. They assent to Sir Walter Scott's introduction of the term, meaning "magic, enchantment, and necromancy," to the English language through his poem *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* (1805). Nevertheless, Gundle argues that glamour is "a quintessentially modern phenomenon" (7). Its promise of social mobility—that anyone might become "a better, more attractive, and wealthier version of themselves" in a capitalist society—reflected and shaped the rise of modernity, a period marked by the shift from aristocratic to bourgeois hegemony; from a production-based to a consumption-based economy; and from a relatively fixed social system, in which birth determined status, to a relatively fluid social system, in which theatricality and self-invention determined status (Gundle 7, 10; Gundle and Castelli 6-7). Even as Gundle traces glamour's basic elements to the 1800s, he agrees with Brown, who argues "that it is not until the modern period" that glamour coalesces as "an ideal form" (7). Likewise, Dyhouse contends that glamour is "linked to modernity" and the advent of new technologies—especially Hollywood cinema (5). Also known as "the glamour factory," Hollywood, as Gundle suggests, transformed everyday people into systematically packaged images, "fascinating ciphers of individual dreams and aspirations," that ordinary people could emulate through consumption of mass-produced goods (68). "Integral to capitalist modernity," glamour, Gundle argues, has a decidedly "material dimension" (Gundle and Castelli 7, 6).

Describing glamour as "a visual language of seduction," Dyhouse discloses that her personal "fascination with material and visual culture"—with "pretty, empty scent bottles," fashion, makeup, and "inexpensive jewelry"—partly motivates her study (8, 7). Throughout *Glamour: Women, History, Feminism*, Dyhouse describes the importance of material objects—including furs, feathers, perfumes, lamé, diamonds, gold, platinum, exotic flowers, red lipstick, and sequins, with their "magic" to seduce the senses through "touch, texture, and scent"—in codifying glamour (8, 35-36). Yet, Gundle's *The Glamour System* and Brown's *Glamour in Six Dimensions* best exemplify the marriage between glamour and the world of objects through their detailed analyses of its material facets.

In *The Glamour System*, Gundle examines eight "evocative" categories of glamour, elaborating on seven conceived by Castelli—Sensational Gold,

Clamorous Chroma, Captivating Metals, Magnetic Values, Glittering Media, Thrilling Graphics, and Alluring Plastics—and exploring an eighth of his own formulation—Exotic Enticements (86). Gundle's fascinating discussions of furs, feathers, leopard print, rouge lipstick, crimson dresses, red cars, blonde hair, suntanned skin, precious metals, the color blue, cigarettes, glitter, graphic black-and-white patterns, plastics, and the color pink emphasize the constitutional linkage between glamour and material culture. Even with the strength of Gundle's wonderful descriptions, illustrations of these eight scenarios would have greatly enhanced the book. In the introduction, Gundle mentions that Castelli created visual versions of his seven categories, but these do not appear within the text. Their absence is regrettable given Gundle's central argument that glamour is a "visual language" (17).

Brown, like Gundle, highlights the significance of glamour as a visual phenomenon. Her detailed analyses of cigarettes, Chanel No. 5, and cellophane as "emblems of glamour," represent one of the greatest strengths of *Glamour in Six Dimensions*. The cigarette, with "its sleek lines" and "machine-age design," she argues, "foregrounds the aesthetics of modernism" and its fascination with death (4). As "smoke curled around one's fingers and snaked into the air, producing a sense of mystery and cool isolation," she writes, "the simple act of inhaling and exhaling" created "a sense of style, transgression, and danger"; in short, it created glamour (2). Likewise, Brown's argument that Coco Chanel's groundbreaking scent No. 5 seduced "glamour-seeking" consumers with its synthetic formula, abstract name, "plain pharmaceutical" packaging, and stark label—a radical departure from the unmarried scents, representational names, ornate packaging, and flowery labels of conventional perfumery—is exciting (21). Perhaps most stimulating is Brown's treatment of that seemingly mundane kitchen product of "leftover" infamy—cellophane. In *Glamour in Six Dimensions*, Brown returns this "cellulose sheeting" to its original splendor by transporting her readers to 1931 when plastic's "transparent gloss" signified a modern aesthetic (150). "Cellophane," she argues persuasively, "was chic" (147). With "its sparkling, if empty, play of light," cellophane lent its modern aesthetic of "pure surface" to the stage, the Hollywood film, the celebrity photograph, and the consumer product as set-dressing and packaging for avant-garde theatrical productions, extravagant MGM musicals, glamour photographs, cigarettes, and perfumes (18-19). As Gundle, Brown, and Dyhouse's discussions of plastics, perfumes, and cigarettes demonstrate, glamour shares a co-constitutive relationship with mass-produced cultural objects.

In addition to attaching to objects, glamour also cleaves to people. As Dyhouse asserts, glamour's "connotations were by no means exclusively feminine," a view supported by both Gundle and Brown (12). Still, as Gundle and Brown suggest, women represent its most frequent "human bearers of glamour" and glamour is primarily a "feminizing aesthetic" (Gundle 11; Brown 13). As "a quality mainly attaching to women" and objects, Dyhouse suggests that glamour "became something of a dirty word, associated with the sexual objectification

of women's bodies," during the 1960s and 1970s with the rise of the women's liberation movement and growth of feminist scholarship (Gundle 3; Dyhouse 196). John Berger's *Ways of Seeing* (1972) and feminist film scholar Laura Mulvey's "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema" (1975) represent two of the most influential critiques of glamour published during this period. In *Ways of Seeing*, Berger asserted that "men act and women appear" and that "men look at women; women watch themselves being looked at."[4] Likewise, in "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," Mulvey argued that traditional Hollywood film narrative upheld and perpetuated "the patriarchal order" by constructing women as "sexual objects" of the "male gaze."[5] By the 1990s, glamour had, in the words of film scholars Florence Jacobowitz and Richard Lippe, "become a problematic site for feminist discussion." In their brief, yet provocative, essay titled "Empowering Glamour" (1992), Jacobowitz and Lippe argue that "while the male gaze is relevant, it has established, at times, a too rigid frame of reference" for analyzing glamour. Exploring photographs and film stills of Greta Garbo and Marlene Dietrich, Jacobowitz and Lippe assert, "Glamour can be used in [a] progressive way, in conjunction with certain stars," connoting "confidence, empowerment, and depending on its use, articulat[ing] all that is *not* domestic, confined, surpressed."[6] Whereas Gundle's *Glamour: A History* points to this phenomenon's transgressive potential, arguing that glamour appeals to many women as "a source of self-definition and even empowerment," Dyhouse's efforts to prove glamour's progressiveness comprise the central project of *Glamour: Women, History, Feminism* (Gundle 4). In the end, Dyhouse argues that glamour offered women a potent "resource" for asserting desire, entitlement, confidence, self-possession, and defiance "in a persistently unequal society" (4). Although she acknowledges the "social—and historical—context" and "circumstances [beyond] their own choosing" that shape some women's choice to embrace glamour as a subversive practice, Dyhouse, in making her argument, understates the "risk" associated with glamour, downplaying the fetishization of women as objects for consumption that makes glamour such "dangerous territory" (203, 4). Although, as Gundle notes, the performance of glamour facilitated "social mobility" for some women, "the glamorous . . . do not normally hold any political power or institutional role"; in fact, because women comprise the majority of the glamorous, they are even further removed from "formal structures of power" (11, 15). Dyhouse concedes that "women still stand to gain more than do men from investing in their appearance," but she leaves the important corollary unspoken, that women still stand *to lose* more than do men from refusing to conform to glamour's dictates (208). Despite the obvious pleasures and rewards of glamour, women's relationship to this ubiquitous phenomenon is, I would argue, defined by the tension *between* glamour's very capacity to objectify *and* empower simultaneously; herein lies its seductive trap and oppressive power.

Although I find much in these books compelling, I am disappointed by these scholars' superficial analysis of the complex connections between glamour and race—their inattention to the ways glamour was historically (and is still) racial-

ized. Gundle inadequately explores glamour's construction as a characteristic primarily attributed to *white* women and its role in maintaining racist—as well as capitalist and bourgeois—hegemony. Although he outlines the ways that commodity culture drew on an "Oriental vogue" to appeal to moderns' fascination with the "primitive," he neglects to examine women of color's complicated dialogue with glamour, referencing Josephine Baker and "other icons of colour" in passing (Gundle and Castelli 94; Gundle 365). Although Brown opens and concludes her fifth chapter with a discussion of Josephine Baker as the epitome of "primitive glamour," her cursory analysis—that scholars have "generally overlooked" Baker's "apparent delight in performing as the primitive object"—leaves the reader wanting more (125).[7]

In *Glamour: Women, History, Feminism*, Dyhouse acknowledges that "glamour sometimes carried different meanings for black and white women" (162). As she observes, many white feminists protested segregated beauty contests—most notably the 1968 Miss America pageant—as "demeaning" patriarchal, capitalist, and racist rituals during the 1960s (152-53). At the same time, many African American institutions staged all-black beauty pageants in protest against the racist beauty standards perpetuated by white pageants like Miss America.[8] For example, in protest against the 1968 Miss America contest, the NAACP crowned Saundra Williams, who wore an Afro hairstyle and performed an "African" dance she called the "Fiji," Miss Black America of 1968.[9] For many black women, Dyhouse notes, "glamour was being claimed as a right rather than regarded as a form of oppression" (163). Still, as my research on Lena Horne suggests, many black women also understood glamour's oppressive qualities.

White America's acceptance of Horne as *the* "'colored glamour girl'" posed a significant challenge to the dominant culture's representation of black women as "non-beauties," while bolstering sexist and colorist ideology.[10] Although Horne realized the importance of her symbolic role as a black beauty ambassador in engendering race pride and (ostensibly) expediting integration, she openly expressed her frustration with her objectification as a glamour girl and during the late 1940s, claimed subjectivity as a civil rights activist. Following charges of anti-Americanism related to her activism, Horne left the political realm to resume her role as a representative black beauty and nightclub singer. Within this context, rather than critique glamour as objectifying, she appropriated the performance of glamour in an effort to resist racial and gender exploitation.

Describing her performance style of the late 1940s and 1950s, Shane Vogel, performance scholar and Brown's colleague, argues that Horne offered her white cabaret audiences "no self"—"not love but hostility, not warmth but aloofness, not presence but absence, not immediacy but hesitation, not touch but distance, not an old friend but a stranger."[11] Although Vogel convincingly argues that Horne strategically performed aloofness and "impersonality" (the same term used by Brown to describe Greta Garbo's affect) to "resist the circumscribed roles available to black women on the Jim Crow stage," I believe he overlooks the significance of Horne's performance style as a strategic performance of glam-

our.[12] Gundle, Brown, Dyhouse, and other scholars, in their attempts to define this elusive concept, as opposed to "beauty" or "prettiness," use the very terms Vogel and others evoke to describe Horne's "impersona." Glamour, they argue, involves the projection of icy indifference (Brown 5, 18).[13] It is "untouchable," contingent on "what is withheld."[14] As Gundle maintains, glamour is "a weapon and a protective coating" (4). By cultivating an aloof singing style dependent on the performance of glamour, Horne liberated and empowered her image; by performing glamour, Horne attempts, as Vogel suggests, to "resist the interracial intimacy" produced by the segregated cabaret and the expectation that she display "black female interiority" for her white audiences.[15] Throughout the rest of her life, Horne navigated the "dangerous territory" of glamour, with its ability to doubly dehumanize *and* doubly empower her as a black woman, at times, concurrently (Dyhouse 4). As I hope my anecdotal discussion of Horne's problematic affiliation with glamour suggests, icons of color and their negotiations of glamour deserve further study.

Even with these criticisms, I highly recommend Gundle, Brown, and Dyhouse's work to both scholars and students. In spite of differences of opinion concerning the historical origins of the phenomenon and its precise definition, taken together, these authors suggest that glamour is inseparable from modernity, mass and material culture, consumption, classic Hollywood cinema, and questions of female objectification and empowerment, making these books relevant for scholars in a variety of inter- and traditional disciplines. These excellent books begin the important work of filling a significant void, launching a much-needed conversation concerning glamour—its theoretical implications, its historical changeability, and its contemporary role in America and Britain's increasingly image-obsessed, capitalist societies.

Notes

1. Lucia van der Post, *Things I Wish My Mother Told Me: Lessons in Grace and Elegance* (London: John Morrow, 2007), 27, quoted in Gundle, *Glamour: A History*, 391.

2. See Florence Jacobowitz and Richard Lippe, "Empowering Glamour," *Cineaction* 26/27 (1992): 2-11; Elizabeth Wilson, "A Note on Glamour," *Fashion Theory* 11, no. 1 (2007): 95-108; Stephen Gundle, "Mapping the Origins of Glamour: Giovanni Boldini, Paris and the Belle Epoque," *Journal of European Studies* 29, no. 3 (1999): 269-95, and "Hollywood Glamour and Mass Consumption in Postwar Italy," *Journal of Cold War Studies* 4, no. 3 (Fall 2002) 95-118. Also see Gundle and Réka Buckley, "Flash Trash: Gianni Versace and the Theory and Practice of Glamour" in *Fashion Culture*, eds. Stella Bruzzi and Pamela Church Gibson (New York: Routledge, 2000), 331-48, and "Fashion and Glamour" in *The Fashion Business*, ed. Nicola White (Oxford: Berg, 2000), 85-106.

3. Gundle and Buckley, "Flash Trash" in *Fashion Culture*, 332.

4. John Berger, *Ways of Seeing*, quoted in Dyhouse, *Glamour*, 196.

5. Laura Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," *Screen* 16, no. 3 (Autumn 1975): 6-18.

6. Jacobowitz and Lippe, "Empowering Glamour," 3.

7. As Brown argues, despite the diversity of and differences between ancient Asian and African cultural traditions, modern constructions of glamour similarly exploited "orientalist and Africanist primitivism" (189n13).

8. In *Ain't I a Beauty Queen?*, scholar Maxine Leeds Craig illuminates the long and complex history of black beauty contests. Since the late nineteenth century, predominantly black middle-class institutions resisted dominant beauty standards by sponsoring all-black pageants. Although these contests challenged hegemonic conceptions of beauty and sought to bolster race pride, they largely reinforced interracial and intraracial hierarchies that privileged middle-class and light-skinned Af-

rican Americans. See Maxine Leeds Craig, *Ain't I a Beauty Queen? Black Women, Beauty, and the Politics of Race* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 45-64.

9. On Saundra Williams and the racial, gender, and class politics of the 1968 NAACP Miss Black America contest, see Craig, *Ain't I a Beauty Queen?*, 3-14.

10. Lena Horne as told to Helen Arstein and Carlton Moss, *In Person: Lena Horne* (New York: Greenberg, 1950), 231; see Maxine Leeds Craig, *Ain't I a Beauty Queen? Black Women, Beauty, and the Politics of Race* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 5.

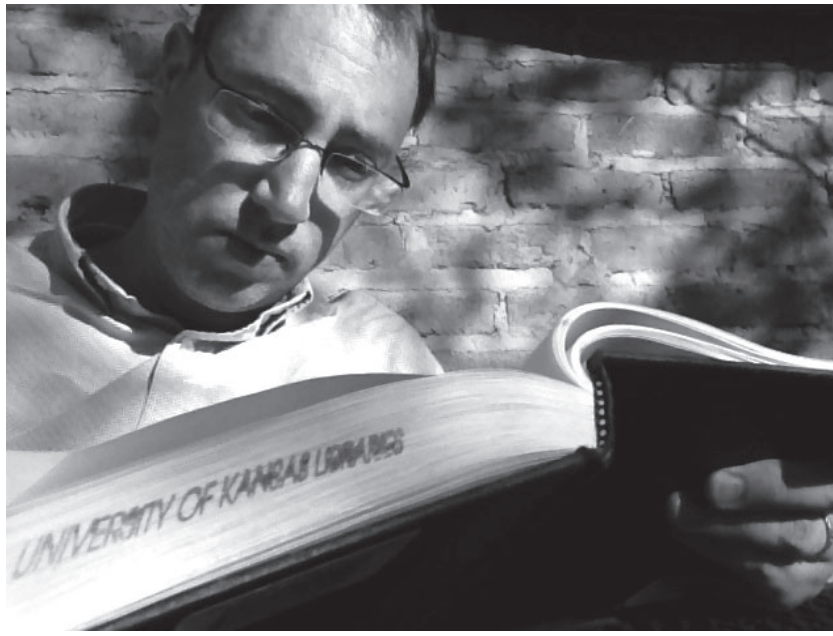
11. Shane Vogel, "Lena Horne's Impersona," *Camera Obscura 67* 23, no. 1 (2008): 33, 12.

12. *Ibid.,* 19.

13. Wilson, "A Note on Glamour," 106

14. *Ibid.,* 101.

15. Vogel, "Lena Horne's Impersona," 18.



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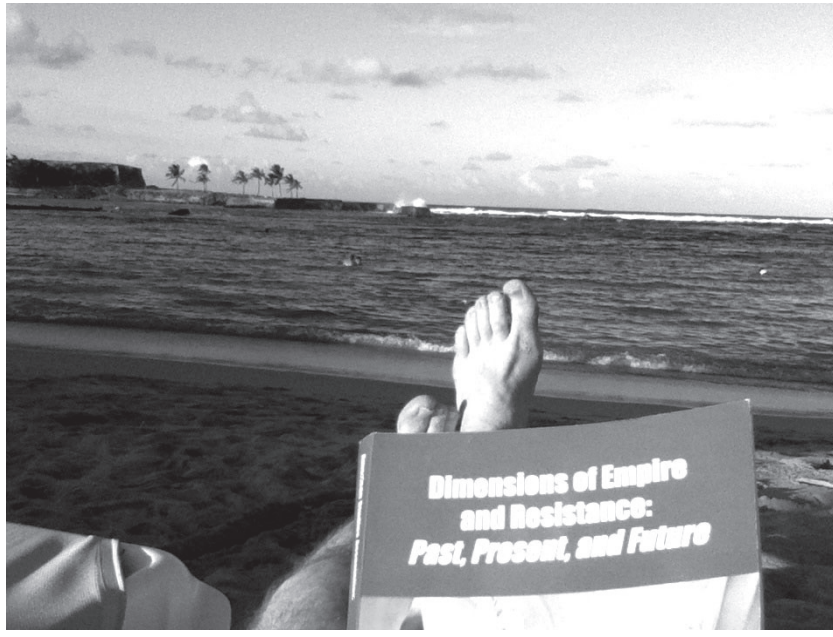

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